

ESSEX RECUSANT

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BRENTWOOD
Essex

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An interesting case of recusancy, because so early, was that of a Curate at Harwich in 1535. It concerns the very first days of the Reformation; indeed apart from documents dealing with some of our early Essex Martyrs, such as Bl. John Beche and Bl. John Hales, this Harwich deposition is probably the first document on recusancy in the county which has so far come to hand.

Before setting out the document (1) it may be as well to briefly recall what the situation was in 1535. During the previous winter a number of Acts had been passed relating to the king's claim to be "head in earth of the Church of England called Ecclesia Anglicana". First a short Supremacy Act gave the king's new style and carefully listed its implications. A Second Succession Act (2) gave a form of executing this Act; those refusing it could be tried on certification by commissioners. There followed a Treason Act (3) which affirms treason for maliciously (even verbally) seeking after February 1st 1535, to deprive the king of any title or dignity which he possesses or for calling him a heretic, schismatic or tyrant.

The few who had refused to take the oath or who had denied the supremacy at that time were proceeded against in the spring and summer of 1535. On April 20th, 1535, the priors of three Charterhouses (London, Beauvale and Axholme) were arrested together with Dr. Richard Reynolds of the Bridgitine Monastery of Syon ("the most learned monk in England"). They were put to death together at Tyburn with the secular priest John Hales on May 4th. Three days after St. John Fisher suffered and nine days after him St. Thomas More was executed.

This year of 1535, therefore, was not a year in which any but a brave man would set himself to refuse to accept the king's new claim to headship of the Church. Sir Thomas Corthrop, Curate of Harwich, did this in no uncertain way as the following document sets out. It is too long to quote in its entirety, but enough is here set out to show what he did and said about the king's claim. It was a time of plain speech and acting and though we might not always approve the methods he used we can surely applaud the sentiments.

It will be noted that the spelling as also the script of the document (apart from the heading which is in another hand), is much nearer the style of our own time than later tudor script. Many of the expressions used also bear quite a modern sound.

Here, then, is the deposition against this Harwich priest:-

"Artichells agenst Sir Thomas Corthop curate of Harwiche in the yere of o^r lord Jhu Christ m^c xxxv

§ "ffirst the second day of July last past Sir Thomas Corthope curate of harwiche said that he wold rede the genralle sentence and thus psuadethe the Kings loving subiects not to regard and esteme the kings gracious letters directed unto the bisschop of the dioce and shreff of the shere under his gracious syne and seall in which letters he comandeth the bisshop and alle other ecclesiasticall p'sons not to rede the gen'ral sentence as in the said letters more playnly apereth. Witnesse Thomas Rychemont of harwiche & Sir John lege w^t other....

§ "Item the last day of June last past the said Sir Thomas Corthop being at manyngtree in Essex there was comaunded by the bissop of londons Deputie as alle other curates was that w^t alle spedē and diligence he shuld do and accomplishe alle such things as o^r Soveraigne lord the kyng by his gracious letters comaunded the bisshops and alle other ecclesiasticall p'sones to doe as in the said letters more playnly apereth the said Sir Thomas Corthop hath disobediently left the name of the pope and other titles of his Glory and advauncement unrased out of the boke w^t in the churche at Harwiche found the xx^{ti} day of July contrary to the kyngs comaundment. Witnesse John Oak and John hamont at that tyme the kyngs officers called Constables, Roger Coper, Thomas Marven, Thomas Rychemont henry ffyssher, will^m paynter w^t div other.

§ "Yet for alle that warnyng on the xx^{ti} day of July as is afore rehersed the said Sir Thomas Corthop hath left the name of the pope and other titles of his glory and advauncement unrased owt of the bokes w^t in his said churche of harwiche and so found unrased on the xiiij day of January these witnisses henry barman etc.

§ "Yet for alle this comaundment, charitable monycion and

warnynge as is aforesaid the said Sir Thomas Corthope did leve the name of the pope and other titles of his pomp and glorious avauncement yet agen unrased out of the mas boks and other boks w^t in his^t quere at harwyche among whyche books oon hath and is lyed w^t a chayne before the said Curat as he settet in the Quere and is called a portes in whiche boke the name of the pope stode in place and not rased and this disobedient and stubborn behayvo^r was found the xijij day of ffebruary. These witnesses etc.

"Item the xxvij day of November the said Sir Thomas Corthop setting in the howse of john lamberte of harwyche did saye that oon Sir ~~Thomas~~ Corthop Christer. lambhethe whom the bisshop of Caunterbury hath by his letters admitted to preche through his province the said Sir Thomas Corthop said that as long as he was curat of harwyche he wold kepe hym from preaching there in despyte of the bisshop and of the kyng also and do the best they can ther. Oon Moris harvye of harwyche said unto hym, "preste calle in these words agayne". Then the said Sir Thomas Corthop sedytious said agen unto the said Moris, "harvye nowe go thy way and peache me of treason if thowe wilt". Witnesse etc.

§ "Item the xth day of August the said Sir Thomas Corthop in the Church at harwyche prechyg in the pulpit said that these newe lerned ffellowes did teche the people nether to ffast pray nor to do almons dedes by reason of which slaundre^ris prechyg the true prechers of the word of god and letters of the kings title style and lawfull Jurisdiction ar had and brought into great slander and Infamy by such false p'suasyons and ar called the newe lerned ffelloes and techers of newe doctryne even as the pharyses called o^r Savyo^r Christ and his Appostles by reason of whyche great inconvenience myght (illegible) and arise if that suche papistes be not sequestred from such sedycions and prechygnes. Witnesse etc.

§ "Item the said xth day of August the said Sir Thomas Corthop denied the bisshop of Caunterbury licence of prechyg and wold not suffer an honest man to preache whom the bisshop by the auctoritie of o^r soveraigne lord the kyng hath lawfullye admitted as in the said license more playnly aperith. Witnesse etc.

§ "Item the xv day of August the said Sir Thomas Corthop

preached at Bethelēm ^twout Bysshoppesgate at london where he said in the pulpit that these newe preachers nowe a days that doth preche yet iij sermons in a daye have made and brought in such divisions and sedicions among us as never was sene in this Realm for the devill rayneth over us nowe, w^t many other sedicious wordes. Witnesse Thomas dady draper, Richard Appleton draper, Thomas hewit draper, George (illegible), upholster, John Meryfeld, upholster, William lacy, clothworker and William Sarkk scrivener w^t other.

§ "Item the xvij day of August last past the said Sir Thomas Corthop being at soper in the house of John lambarte in harwych said that there was a Comyssion com ffrom the king comaundynge every Curat to preche after the old custom and thus he p' suadeth the kings loving subiects to take and esteme of noone effect and ffrustrate the beneficiale order of prechynge that o^r soveraigne lord the kyng and his honourable Councill have apoynted of late as by his gracious letters more playnely aperith Witnes John lambarte of harwyche, James Bingham ffishemonger of london, M^r Browne of lynn, Thomas Bacon of london salter w^t other.

§ "Item the said xvij of August in the hous of John lambarte aforesaid after that oon Thomas Bacon salter of london had like a ffaithfull subiect defended the ordre of prechynge apoynted by o^r Sovraigne lord the kyng as is aforesaid the said Sir Thomas Corthop said, "well this prechynge will last for a while but I trust to see the daye and that shortly that we shalle preache as we have don for alle this bragge". Witnes etc.

§ "Item the foresaid day and tyme and in the hous aforesaid the said Sir Thomas Corthop in the end of his comynycacions said, "alle ~~such~~ this divysyon comyth through that ffalſe knave and heretike Docto^r Barns (?) and suche other heretike as he ys," w^t many other uncharitable wordes. Witnes etc.

§ "Item the xxij day of August being Saturday the kyngs gracious letters directed to the Sh'reffs as concernyng the declaracion of his gracious pleasure as in the said letters more playnely aperith whyche letters being in prent under his most gracious prevelege and set upon the pulpet in the Churche of harwyche whereof most customall other letters hath byn sett to abyde quietly as the bisshop of Romes letters w^t other the

said Sir Thomas Corthop cam and loked uppon them and in a great fury presumtuously pulled them down and set them w^t out the Churche on the Churche dore where in two dayes after they were found in ~~pecces~~ peces and traden under ffete and thus as much as in hym ys ^Frebelliously hydeth the kyngs most lawfull and gracious pleas ffrom his moost loving suiects to the whych eny ffaithfull hert is bound by the lawe of god and nature to accomplisshe and satisfye as muche as in hym lyeth. Witnes etc.

§ "Item the xxij^t day of August the said Sir Thomas Corthop in the pulpet w^t in the Churche of harwyche said, "here be found that doth grope be cause I have preached of purgatory but nowe I dare bodily speke of it and preache of it to you. I have spoken w^t myn ordinary the bisshop of london of late and he hath shewed me so that it be not agenst no thing that is graunted by act of p'liament we maye preache as we have don in tyme past and thus p'saudeth the kings loving subiects not to regard his graces comaundment...."

§ "Item the said xxij^t day of August in the pulpet aforesaid the said Sir Thomas Corthop said that o^r Savio^r culd do no mirakylles in some places and thus left it to the great hurt of the unlerned people for eny ffaithfull creature believeth that alle things is possible w^t god and that in alle place.

"Item the xxij^t day of November the said Sir Thomas Corthop being in the pulpet in the Churche of harwyche said that the people nowe a dayes wuld not regard nor beleve the sayinges of the Captaines of the Churche but when a newe ffangelled ffelowe doth com and shewe them a new story hym they do beleve and so left it and thus bringeth the kings loving subiects in great dowte whom they shuld beleve and wheche be thes captaynes and whyche be these newe ffangled fellowes whyche ~~preachyng~~ is contrary to the kings commyssion as in the said Comyssion more playnely aperith. Witnes etc.

§ "Item the vth day of December the said Sir Thomas Corthop said in the pulpitt w^t in the Churche of harwyche, "we rede that Antichryst shuld com and do muche hurt in Christes Church and we rede that if it were possible the very Elect shuld be deceaved," and thus left it and made no declaracion ho was anticrist that the kings loving subiects myght beware of hym and of his develisshe doctryne whyche colorus (?) prechyg is

contrary to the teno^r of the kings gracious letters as in the said letters more playnly aperith. Witnes etc.

§ "Item the xxvj of December being Saint Stevyns daye the young men of the Towne of harwyche after an old usage and yerely custom cam unto the said Churche when evensong was don w^t mynstrell to solas the pippel and to bryng youth from dyce cards and alle other Games of Ryot there entending by the advise of the heddys of the Towne to chose a lord of mysrule for the Cristmas tyme as it is called as they had don in tymes past, the said Sir Thomas Corthop cam out of the Quere and there in the Churche began a ffrey w^t the said young men and toke the pype out of the mynstrelles handes and did strike the said mynstrell on the hed w^t the said pipe and after threwe it agenst the ground and like a man full of malys did stamp upon the said pype w^t his fete and so did breke it in peaces, and thus did bryng the hoole parysse in great disturbance and unquietnes feryng that som myschyf myght a followed his malicious behavoir but thank be to god the kings pece was kept of alle the Twone and paciently suffred the said Sir Thomas in alle his angure and uncharitable demeanure. Then the next daye to mayteyn his ffoly and (illegible) demeanure of the nyght before the said Sir Thomas Corthop cam into the pulpit w^t in the Church of harwyche and for his pose brought in a text of the olde lawe howe that the Children of Israhell did cum dancyng and piping in the house of their Idolls and aplied the same unto his parishens, whiche cam neither to daunce before Idolls nor to geve them any hono^r but they cam to eschewe vice and encrease vertue which wrong interpretacion is contrary to the kings Comaundment as in his gracious letters more playnly aperith. Witnes etc.

§ "Item the second daye of January last past the said Sir Thomas Corthop cam into the pulpitt in the Churche of harwyche and there left the Gospell and pistell of the daye undeclared the there slanderously defamed div^s of his p'isshens openly in the pulpitt and said there be some of the best of this p'isshes ar gon a hunting this daye before matence (?) and the best of this Towne ar nowe on the Grene a balling, whiche is untrue and so proved, the which slanderous prechygng is contrary to the word of god and the kings Comaundment as in his gracious letters concernyng the odre of preachyng more planly aperith. Witnes etc."

The deposition against the Harwich priest ends suddenly here. What transpired in the case and what was the subsequent history of this priest we have not yet been able to discover.

The church of Harwich prior to the dissolution of the monasteries was in the gift of the Prior of the Monastery of Colne, who upon its falling vacant usually bestowed it upon one of his own canons, the Bishop of London (as is shown in the London Register) confirming the appointment. After the dissolution the right of advowson of the church of Dovercourt, annexed to which was the church of Harwich passed to the Crown.

The name of Thomas Corthop is not found in the Bishop of London's list of the vicars of Harwich (4). He must, therefore have been an unbefooled cleric, either secular or religious, who was simply administering the church at Harwich. His title of "curate" would seem also to indicate this. He may have been a monk of Colne Priory, but he does not appear as one of the signatories to the deed of surrender of the priory as it seems likely he would have done had he been a monk of that religious house.(5)

While not agreeing with some of his methods of protesting against the imposition of the new ways and against the continuance of such undesirable customs as minstrels invading the church to elect a lord of misrule (a custom which the ecclesiastical authorities also had for long sought to ban, and which was soon to be banned by law) nevertheless we cannot but admire his forthrightness and courage at such a time.

We may conclude with a note upon the custom of having a "lord of misrule". The origin of this Christmas custom is difficult to trace; some have suggested that it derived, from the old Saturnalia of the Roman origins, celebrated at this time of the year in honour of Saturn. Whatever the origin the custom was widespread in mediaeval days of having a Lord of Misrule, or an Abbot of Unreason (as he was called in Scotland) or a L'Abbe de Malgouverne (in France). "In the feaste of Christmas", says Stow in his Survey, "there was in the King's house, wheresoever he lodged, a Lord of Misrule or master of merry disports; and the like had ye in the House of every nobleman, were he spiritual or temporal.... these Lords continued till the morrow after the Feast of the

Purification commonly called Candlemas Day, in all which space there were fine and subtle disguisings, maskes and mummeries, with playing at cards for counters, nails and points...."(6)

This custom had invaded the church itself and for many years the ecclesiastical authorities had sought to curtail such excesses as the use of the church premises for elections. The custom was soon to be banned altogether, first in Scotland in 1555 by a special Act for its suppression, this being followed later in England. Whilst, therefore, we may not applaud the manner of Sir Thomas Corthop's protest, no doubt he felt himself to be defending the sanctity of his church in forbidding its use for the election of such a lord of misrule.

REV. BERNARD CLAY.
(formerly Rector of Harwich;
sometime Member of Harwich
Muniments Committee.)

NOTES

- (1) S.P. (Dom. Henry) 1/99, fol.3 seq.
- (2) 26 Henry viii, c.2.
- (3) 26 Henry viii, c.13.
- (4) Newcourt, ii, 219.
- (5) V.C.H., ii, 104.
- (6) Society of Antiquaries Journal, vol.xviii, 313.

THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF THE PETRE FAMILY UNDER ELIZABETH I

The portraits of Sir William Petre and of his son John, the first Lord Petre, hanging on the walls of the Long Gallery at Ingatestone Hall, show us two very wary, withdrawn men, men from whom one would not expect much information about their own personal beliefs. And so indeed it seems to be. In his recent life of Sir William Petre, F.G. Emmison gives frequent examples of the taciturnity that helped him retain his position in the Council through the turmoil of the four Tudors: if

he was taciturn in politics, he seems to have been a sphinx in religion, and we can only judge from certain actions of his that his sympathy lay rather with the old religion than with the new. His son John took less part in public life, but conformed, outwardly at least, to the new religion. He was knighted in 1576 at the end of his tour as Sheriff of the County, later served as Deputy Lieutenant and was on the Commission to restrain Papists and seminarists. He was made a Baron in 1603, but retired from public life when his wife died in 1604. To all appearances, then, the Elizabethan Petre men were not recusants but conformists.

But the distinction between a conformist and a recusant did not become clear-cut until about 25 years after the Act of Uniformity. In 1562 the Council of Trent was asked if it were lawful for Catholics to attend Protestant churches where the law compelled it, and in the same year Pope Pius IV referred the same question to the Holy Office: from both the answer was an emphatic negative. But it was no easy matter to get the answer back to England and have it promulgated to the Catholics, for they had no pulpits, no printing-presses, nothing but word-of-mouth communication, and it was not surprising that some Catholics refused to accept such an inconvenient answer by word of mouth. They had scant sympathy or respect from either side, being called half-recusants or church-papists by the one and schismatics by the other. There is a cynical, unsigned description of these men in Harleian Ms. 1221, N.5: "A papist is one that parts religion between his conscience and his purse and comes to church not to serve God but the king. The fear of the law makes him wear the mark of the Gospel, which he useth not as a means to save his soul, but his charges. He loves Popery well, but is loth to lose by it, and though he be something scared by the bulls of Rome, yet he is struck with more terror at the apparitor. Once a month he presents himself at church, to keep off the churchwardens, and brings his body to save his bail, kneels with the congregation, but prays by himself and asks God's forgiveness for coming thither. If he be forced to stay out a sermon, he puts his hat over his eyes and frowns out the hour, and when he comes home, he thinks to make amends for his fault by abusing the preacher. His main subtlety is to shift off the communion, for which he is never unfurnished of

a quarrel, and will be sure always to be out of charity at Easter. He would make a bad martyr and a good traveller, for his conscience is so large he could never wander from it, and in Constantinople would be circumcised with a mental reservation. His wife is more zealous in her devotion, and therefore more costly, and he bates her in tyres what she spends in religion."

It was one of the first questions the seminary priests had to tackle when they came to England, and when the two Jesuits, Fr. Campion and Fr. Parsons came over in 1580 and set up a secret printing-press in East Ham, one of the first books printed was A Brief Discourse contayning certayne reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church. This stirred up quite a controversy, even amongst Catholics and one priest countered with a pamphlet, "A treatise to prove that attendance at the Protestant church was in itself no sin, and therefore might be lawfully submitted to for the purpose of avoiding a persecution so intolerable at present and threatening to grow so much more so". (1)

It would be understandable if Sir William and Sir John Petre, intent on building up their family fortunes, tried to avoid making a declaration one way or the other. The following statement was made about their attitude by George Eliot, who had been a servant of the old Lady Petre, the widow of Sir William: he had been, externally at least, a fervent Catholic, and was in a position to know all the secrets of the Catholic community. When he was dismissed for embezzlement and for attempted rape, he had his revenge by going to the Privy Council and revealing all that he knew and deliberately incriminating his former employers and acquaintances. This may well reduce the reliability of his statement, but we reproduce it here and leave it to the reader to decide.

BM. Lansdowne 33, fol. 145 - 149

Certain notes and remembrances concerning a reconciliation by me exhibited to the right honorable my good Lord th' erle of Leycester.

The names of all suche popishe priestes as I have bene acquainted withall, and at this time can call to remembrance.

.....

Blackborne	Sherte
Sheparde alias Chapman	Newman alias Meredith
Perco alias Cooper	Clitherowe
Hayles	Gray
Todde	Johnson
Sutton)	Blackwell
Sutton → brothers	Scotte
Sutton)	Chester alias Barloe
Glosher	Norrish, and one other with him
Wade or Warde	whose name I have forgotten.
Cocke	Tomson
Payne	Therckhill
Smythe	
Jackson	
Mydleton	
Hudson	

Pyttes and one other with him whose name I have forgotten.

In all XXX

The names of all suche Papistes as cary the countenance of gentlemen or gentlewomen which I knowe of my own knowledge, as also suche as have been made known unto me by reporte of Papistes,

Yorckshyre

The ould Lady Wharton who hathe in her howse a priest that is stewarde of her house

Darbyshyre

Sir Thomas Fitzherbert	Mr Sherley
Sir Thomas Gerrard	Mr Bentley
Mr Longeforde	The ould Lady Folambe
Mr Rolleston	Mres Whithall
Mr Powtrell of Westhallam	Mr John Fitzharbert

Staffordshyre

Mr Rich. Fitzharbert
Mr Draycott of Paynsley
John Treven, a man of good countenance but no gentleman.

Lincolnshyre

Mr Dymocke

Barkshyre

Mr Yates

Oxfordshyre

Mr Moore

London

The oulde Lady Penbrooke
Th' erle of Southampton
Lord Montague
Lord Compton
(a name obliterated)
Lady Goodwin
Lady Poulett, she hathe a
priest is steward of her
howse.
Sir George Peckham
Mr Talbott
Mr Francis Browne
Mr William Browne
Mr Edward Peckham
Thomas Gerrarde

Kent

Mr Thomas Rooper
Mr George Couldwell
Mr Ingeam, he hathe a sonne
beyonde the seas

Essex

The ould Lady Peter
The younge Lady Peter
Mr Wilforde

Mr Phillippe Bassett
Mr Charles Bassett
Mr William Roper
Mr Loveday
Mr Cockes
Mr Littleton who as I take it
hathe an office in the Court
Mr Smythe, docter in Phisick
Mres Grevill wyfe of
Mr Lodovicke Grevill
The wifes of Sir Richard
Bakers 2 sonnes
The wyfe of Sir John Goodwin
his sonne and heyre.

Mres Paschall widowe
Mr Paschall her sonne and heym
Mr Napper
Mres Gorge

Sir John Petre is supposed amongst the papistes to bear
good will that waye. And 3 causes which I nowe remember
moveth me to thinck it the rather to be trewe. First for
that his wyfe is known to be an earnest papist and is by him
suffered. (2) Secondly for that he keapeth in his howse a
schoolemaster called Nathan who hathe spent a great tyme be-
yonde the seas and well knowne to be a papiste for I have
some divers tymes at Masse with him at the ould lady Peters.
This Nathan teacheth Sir John his sonne his heyre and lerneth
him amongst other thinges suche prayers as papistes use. (3)
And thirdly and last of all I being the ould lady Peters ser-
vant the last somer it happened I were on businesse to Sir

John Peters howse in Essex, Sir John and his wyfe being then at home, at which tyme I founde there the aforesaid priest Hudson and an other priest with him whose name I have forgotten. They were then newly come from beyonde the seas. This Hudson was sometyme stewarde in howse to Sir William Peter, and then departing Sir William his howse about ix or x yeares ago went beyonde the seas leaving then Sir John within the compasse of the papistes church and now at his arrivall thought belyke to have founde him as he lefte him, tooke upon him bouldly to tell him of an armye that was either prepared or in preparing by the K. of Spayne and the Pope, and that it was bent towardes this realme and that there were certain prayers sett out beyond the seas and delivered to the papistes, there to be used and saide amongst other their prayers to the good success of the said Armye. Sir John thought the saide Hudson (as I heard saye) to be unwise for declaring any suche matters to him, and tould his wyfe of him and willed her to be ware of him; where upon she tould two of her men that be papistes and wished that his mother theould Lady Pater had warning of him last perchance he might be suffred to saye Masse there. And so the two men tould me of it in manner as beforesaide and wished me to make haste home to give warning of them for that they saide they would goe thither. And so I went in haste and founde the saide priestes there before me and tould my Lady what I had hearde of them. And so she being then something temerous gave them ther but could enterteignment so that they taryed there but one night.(4)

(Here follows Elliot's charge against the priest B. John Paine, printed in Essex Recusant 2 (1960) 53-4.)

Certeine furder notes by me remembred
concerninge my aforesaid reconciliation

About this tyme twelvemonethe I served the aforesaid old Lady Peter and haveing some dooing for her as touching her lands I receaved allso for Sir John Petre certeine rents, who had then, as I tooke it, a very good opinion of me in respect of dealing that I delt in under his mother and him. The said Sir John had many tymes before persuaded me to go to the churche for fashion sake and in respect to avoid the daunger of the lawe; yet to keepe myne owne conscience.

And then at the same time he persuaded me to do the like sayinge that I might lawfullie doo it and furder saithe he, "Do you thincke there are not that goe to the church that beare as good a mynde to godward as those that refuse; yes and if occasion serve wilbe able to doe better service then they which refuse to go to the churche. Yet would I not for anythinge wish you to participate with them eyther in their prayers or communion." And I verylie thincke Sir John althoughe he goeth to the churche dothe not receave the communion.

Robert Tunstid whom I before in other notes named, beinge then Sir John Peters man tould me that Sir John was very temerous in respect of the lawes, but Mr Talbot hathe said unto me (saith the said Tunstid) that if he were as the said Sir John he would not willinglie parte with anye suche men as the said Tunstid is, for saithe the said Mr Talbot the tyme will come he will nede suche fellowes. And if you doe by any meanes goe frome him I will gyve you the best enterteynment I can. (5)

Mr Lodwycke Gryvyll was Imprisoned aboue Easter was two yeaeres concerninge a fray betweene (as I take it) Sir John Conweye and him. The said Mr Gryvyll upon the release of his Imprisonement came to the old Lady Peters his mother in lawe and shortlie after I hard the said old Lady as manye tymes before shee had done that your honour was a great enymye to the said Mr Gryvyll bothe touchinge that matter and other causes before. "But yet, saithe the said Lady, lett my lorde of Leicester take hede for a tyme will come that a revengement may be by my said Sonne in lawe used." (6)

(4 lines obliterated here)

Priest Sheparde alias Chapman whom I before in my above remembrance named, tould me that if the Q. majesty by anye meanes were taken awaie, that the Q. of Scots should be Q. of Englande, and that Mr Rollston was sure to be one of her pryvey Counsell for that, saith the said priest, she thincketh as well of the said Mr Rollston as of anye one in England.

I verelie thincke Mr Francis Browne, or Mr Charles Bassot cann tell of the Jesuites where they are, for that in dede Mr Browne and Mr Basset were (by the reporte of one Humfrey

Eyton, late servante to Mr Thomas Rooper) not long agoe very often in compayne with the said Jesuits and so was the said Eyton in lyke manner. This Eyton is nowe beyond the seas, unles verye latelie he be retorne, and it is not longe agoe since he sent letters over to the said Mr Bassett: they were conveyed fyrste to one George Stonarde a vinteners man at the Whyt Bell in Newe Fyshestreet, and so by him delivered over to the parties accordinge to certein instructions to him from the said Eyton sent.

Priest Tomson whom I before in my other remembrance named brought twoo booke (sett out by Campion and Persons) to his master Mr Thomas Rooper his howse in Orpington in Kent, and did leande bothe or one of them to one Mr Tyler vicar of the saide towne.

There are two bookebynders in Powles Churcheyearde called Cawood and Hollder, whome I verylie thincke were of the Councell, for the prynctting or bynding of the said Jesuits booke, for I am suere they sell papisticall booke forbidd- en to be sold. And this is all that yet I can remember.

G.E.

(Here follows Elliot's statement about the priest B. John Payne having said Mass at the More house at Haddon, Bampton, Co. Oxon, printed in Essex Recusant 2 (1960): 52.

NOTES

- (1) cf. A.C. Southern, Elizabethan Recusant Prose 1559-1582 (London 1950), 136 - 144.
- (2) Sir John Petre's wife was Mary daughter of Sir Edward Waldegrave of Borley, Essex who had died in the Tower in 1561. (cf. Essex Recusant 3 (1961):14. Also F.G. Emmison, Tudor Secretary, (London 1961): 288). Her brother was studying for the priesthood in Rome.
- (3) His full name was Nathan Shepherd, and he appears regularly in the Quarter Sessions from 1581 onwards: e.g. Q/SR 79/75. There were other papist school- masters in private houses at this time, e.g. with

the Atslowes at Downham, the Wrights of Brook Street, the Greens at Little Samford. In 1606 there were 2000 English Catholic children in schools abroad. Cf. M. O'Dwyer, Catholic Recusants in Essex, 1580 - 1600 (unpublished London University MA thesis): 57-62.

(4) William Hudson succeeded John Kyme as Sir William Petre's personal steward about 1563 (Emmison, op.cit. 257). He went overseas in 1571 (Foley, Records SJ, II, 537). In 1580 he was at Rheims and was sent to Chalons to be ordained priest. He left for England on May 10, 1580. After his unsuccessful bid for shelter with the Petre family, Hudson, who was a Yorkshireman, laboured in the North. He was arrested and imprisoned in York. In 1585 he was exiled (cf. Douai Diaries, *passim*)

(5) Robert Tunstid was a servant of Sir John Petre, whose name appears in the Petre Account Books in the ERO. Talbot was presumably the John Talbot, ward of Sir William. cf. Emmison, op.cit. 303-5.

(6) Ludovick Greville was married to Thomasine Petre, sister of Sir John. He lived at Ingatestone Hall. cf. Emmison, op.cit. 287.

(7) Francis Browne, of Cowdrey, remained a staunch Papist. His sister Lucy was married to Thomas Roper, whose nephew was Charles Basset. This group was particularly active in helping the two Jesuits, Campion and Parsons, when they arrived in England in 1580.

INCONSTANT HEARTS: SEMINARY PRIESTS IN ESSEX PARSONAGES

It has been the custom amongst Catholic historians to brand as renegades, apostates and traitors, all the Marian priests who conformed and those of the Jesuits and seminary priests who yielded to the threats of the persecutors. Such indeed were the terms bandied about in the heat of the battle by their contemporaries, some of whom were racked and disembowelled because of the inconstancy of their erstwhile

friends. But such must not be the attitude of the true historian: "ne quid veri dicere non audeat; ne qua suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo, ne qua simultatis" are Cicero's words which we have made the motto of the Essex Recusant Society. It would be wrong, therefore, simply to draw a line and close the account of any priest who apostatised, for that would be allowing prejudice to cloud the cool, unwavering gaze of the true historian.

Miss Hilda Grieve made a study of the ordinary Essex parish clergy at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, tracing their previous and subsequent histories; her conclusion was that the great majority stayed in their parishes through all the doctrinal fluctuations and got on with their work, simply accepting the various instructions which came down from above. The only ones who were removed were the married clergy under Queen Mary. (1) Nevertheless there are exceptions, and Canon Foley showed recently that there was a hankering after the old ceremonies even amongst those who conformed. (2) George Otwey, Vicar of South Weald and master of Brentwood Grammar School, went overseas to Douai in 1577. (3) John Garratt, Vicar of South Benfleet, is shown on a list of recusants in 1577. (4) William Walker, Vicar of Burnham-on-Crouch, was imprisoned and deprived for refusing the Oath of Supremacy. (5) These and other cases will be studied later.

More interesting perhaps is the story of three Seminary priests, Anthony Tyrrell of the English College in Rome, and Thomas Simpson and Ralph Ithell of Douai, who held Essex livings early in the seventeenth century. (6)

The Bishop of London's Registers as printed in Newcourt's Repertorium, show:

Aldham: Rad. Ithell pr. 21 Feb. 1599. John Coling pr. 24 Oct. 1600 per resig. Ithell (II, 7)

Wickham Episcopi: Rad. Ithell A.M., 11 Oct. 1600 per mort. Holmes Joh. Smith A.M., 17 Mar. 1618 per mort Ithell. (11,658)

Dengie: Anthony Tyrrell cl. November 8, 1589 per mort Duffield Henr. Davie pr. December 11, 1606 per depr. Tyrell (II, 212)

Southminster: Antony Tyrell, A.M. 12 Jul 1591 per mort Sandes

John Francis, A.M. 16 Nov. 1597 per resig. Tyrell.
(II, 537).

Kelvedon: Thomas Simpson, son of the Rector of Brightlingsea, succeeded his father at Brightlingsea on June 7, 1584, but came to Kelvedon in 1586. He resigned and was succeeded by Esdras alias Thomas Simpson on February 2, 1604. This Thomas Simpson was deprived and succeeded March 2, 1609 by Thomas Hildesley.

Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 51, No. 67 (fol. 159)

endorsed: X Martii 1586

Rector The names of such priests and recusants as have been apprehended and committed to sundry prisons in and about the City of London...

...Thomas Simpson alias Hyegate, a Seminary Priest and a most perilous person, and the most obstinate gainsayer of her Majesties lawes, denienge that wee have the church or any lawfull Bishops or mynisters & consequently adnihilating the lawes and statutes.

Brit. Mus. Harleian MSS. 6998, fol. 93.

24 Aprilis 1593 Thomas Symson alias Higate of Brightlingsea in Essex clerke of the age of xxxv yeares

Semenarie or ther abouts, examined before Mr Owyn
preest Hopton knight, Mr Deane of Westminster, Mr. Dale, Mr. Barne and Mr. Yonge, who saith:

First that he hath bene in prison in the Counter in Wood streete ever since the xxth of February last, committed by the Lord Archbusshopp of Canterbury for beinge made a Semybarie prest beyond the seas.

Item he hath reformed himself and is contented to denounce and forsake his former callinge, opinions and course of lief and to live accordinge to the lawes of this Realme and to come to Churche and to doe everythinge as becometh a good Subiecte and in Signe ther of hath nowe volentarielie taken the Othe of allegiance unto her Majestie and is readie to take the Othe of Supremacie and is further contented to write his owne submission and conversion more at large with his owne hand and hath Renounced all forraigne power, princes and potentates.

concordat cum originali
(an undeciphered signature)

"Examinations of Eliz. Upcher, John Wakering and others of Kelden co. Essex, on the speeches of Esdras alias Thomas Simpson, Vicar of Kelden, as to his connexion with Tirrel who was privy to the Gunpowder Plot: his preaching popish doctrines etc."

Public Record Office, SP 14/23, No. 21 (p.55)

Simpson is said to have affirmed "that Tirrell was his speciall good friend and familiar..." He was asked by the witness, "...surely that Tirrell was a papist, for the Tirrells be papists..." It was mentioned that Tirrell had fled beyond the seas: "Yea, sayd the sayd Simpson, it was time for him to be gone, for he was privy to the plott or in the plott. And the said Simpson said that the said Tirrell was minister at Dengie in the said countie and that he had been in trouble before times for and concerning his religion, and that he the sayd Simpson did labor for him and procure his liberty at that time. And this examinate bearing these speaches in mynd inquired of others the cause of the said Tirrill his then flyinge beyonde the seas cannot give any other person (sic) that the said Tirrell was in or privy to the plott of treason..." Also Sympson had told a neighbouring parson that he himself intended to go: "... Sympson had before told him that he would leave to him his wyfe and benefice of Kelden..."

Essex: The examination of Jhon Sames, Jhon Aylet, Henry Barnard and William Cornewell of Kelden, taken the day and year above sayd.

The sayd examinates say that the third day of November last past beinge the Sunday before the discovery of the treasons, Esdras Simpson, vicar of Kelden aforesaid (who is reported to have bin a Jesuit or seminary and now subscribeth his name Thomas), preached and taught in his sermon in the parish church of Kelden aforesaid, that it was lawfull and fitt to have Images in their houses of Our Lady, Peter and Paule and others, and to have and weare the picture of Christ about them and that he would it were so observed: and say that he had seen the picture of God the Father made like an ould man with a long white beard and a screach face.

And as well before as sithence hath taught and preached doctrine inclining to papistry and refuseth to be reformed notwithstanding his parishioners have admonished him thereof often times.

Anthony Tyrell may well have been privy to the Plot, for in the summer of 1605 the conspirators had met at Fremlands or Fremnells in Essex, the home of Sir Kenelm Sulyard, husband of his sister Anne.(3) An intriguing question is, - Did Anthony Tyrell write the famous letter to Lord Monteagle that discovered the plot?

NOTES:

(1) In the Essex Record Office at Chelmsford is a card-index of the clergymen who held Essex livings at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and copious references to printed and MSS sources, compiled by Miss Hilda Grieve.

(2) Essex Recusant 3 (1961): 1-23.

(3) A George Atwey was ordained for the diocese of London in February 1553. George Otwey M.A. became Vicar of South Weald on February 15, 1558. He was chosen as first schoolmaster of Brentwood Grammar School by its founder Anthony Browne. Before July 29, 1560 he had been deprived of the parish of South Weald. He remained master of the school until October 31, 1570, when he resigned and was replaced by John Greenwood (who himself became a Catholic later). Otwey turns up in the English College in Douai on March 9, 1577, described as "venerabilis presbyter": another entry calls him "Carleolensis", and another "vir matus, doctus et gravis". On March 13 he set out for Brabant in the capacity of tutor to young Thomas Houghton. In 1579 he returned to Douai, and in July of that same year he returned to England.

(4) He was ordained by Edmund, Bishop of London, on July 25, 1560 and was appointed curate at High Ongar.

Later he went as Vicar of South Benfleet, remaining there until some time before his death in December 1584. But the Archdeacon of Essex reported him as a recusant in 1577 (CRS 22(1921) :49)

(5) William Walker was appointed Vicar of Burnham on May 9, 1557. In 1560 the Archdeacon reported that he was absent. In November 1581 he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea for his disobedience in religion (V.G. Book, folio 268: and CRS 2(1906): 231), he was deprived of his living before April 30, 1582.

(6) Anthony Tyrrell was ordained in Rome in 1580: Thomas Simpson was ordained in 1585 while at Douai: John or Ralph Ithell, a native of Llandaff, was ordained in 1581 while at Rheims.

(7) cf. Vaux of Harrowden by G. Anstruther (1953), p.275 -6.

THE FAMILY OF ST. THOMAS MORE IN ESSEX 1581 - 1640

3. Thomas More II (continued)

We have already devoted considerable space (34 pages) to the recusancy of Thomas More II, but Fr. Hugh Bowler OSB, the expert on the Recusant Rolls, has pointed out that another Exchequer Document in the Public Record Office, throws so much light on this case that a re-appraisal of the evidence is required. Indeed this particular document, in the Record section of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll, (1) seems to hold the answer to so many of the questions that have been raised about the administration of the Recusancy laws, and we have no hesitation in saying that anybody who is studying the history of this difficult and involved subject, whether it be in the case of a particular family or in general, cannot afford to ignore this class of record.

We should have liked to reproduce it in full, but unfortunately it is in the repetitive legal Latin jargon of the courts, so we can do no more than give an English summary.

Before we do so, it would be well to list the points that we can establish from it:-

- (1) The total amount forfeited to the Crown by Thomas More II was £702-3-1. He did not pay this in cash: it was paid in two half-yearly instalments by the bailiffs who farmed his estates on behalf of the Crown, the rate of two-thirds of their yearly value.
- (2) He was in gaol for his religion from April 1582 until some time after June 1586. In the July Quarter Sessions of 1586 a summons was issued by the Justices, under the terms of the Act of 1581, which made the fine for recusancy £20 a month. He seems to have ignored the summons and so was not convicted. However the Act of 1586/7 put teeth into the Recusancy laws, and eventually he was convicted on March 13, 1589. The records of the Essex Quarter Sessions are complete for this period, but we have been unable to find the actual document of his conviction: his name appears amongst lists of recusants at the Midsummer Sessions of 1587, 1588 and 1589, and also in the records of the Essex Assizes for Trinity 1588, so presumably his conviction was a result of one of these sessions. (2)
- (3) At his conviction he was fined only for the three months following March 1588: he still did not pay and the fines owing went on piling up for the next 22 months, a total of £440. With the £60 owing before his conviction this made a total of £500. Accordingly on December 9, 1591 his lands were seized and the bailiffs were put in.
- (4) He owned no land in Essex, he was a copyhold tenant in the manor of Leyton Grange, and presumably, like any taxpayer rather than volunteering information about his income he left the tax-collectors to find out for themselves. An inquiry had been held at Barnburgh, and his property there valued at £32: for some obscure reason two-thirds of this was reckoned at £10-0-4. In April 1599 a further enquiry was held at Pontefract and his Yorkshire estates were valued at £82, and a further £13 per annum was discovered in another enquiry at Wakefield in October of the same year. Yet another enquiry in June, 1605 at Hatfield in Herts disclosed further property of Thomas More valued at £174-13-4 (The estates in Hertfordshire had been leased away from the

family in 1586 and had only just reverted to him). For the first $7\frac{1}{2}$ years the Exchequer received only £10-0-4 per annum: for two years it was £54-13-4, then for the next $5\frac{1}{2}$ years the figure rose to £76-13-4. A further £54-4-6 was paid on the lands in Herts for one half year, and then his assessment was rationalised at £200 per annum (This was to go to Sir James Sandilands, but Thomas More died in August 1606, and poor Sir James received only one half-year payment of £100). (3)

(5) Once his lands were seized, he ceased to be liable to the fine of £20 a month. Although he did not once attend church between 1582 and 1606, his total indebtedness in fines was only £500. But in fact the Exchequer got £702-3-1 out of him. The J.P.s in Essex ignored that fact that his lands were seized and went on summoning him, and the Exchequer clerks went on enrolling him at the rate of £20 a month. In March 1603 he sent his attorney down to Chelmsford to tell the Justices to leave him alone and his plea was allowed: (4) but they were after him again in 1605 in the revival of persecution under James I in the months preceding the Gunpowder Plot.

(6) This Memoranda Roll of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, therefore, shows that it was no easy or simple process for the Exchequer to get money out of the Recusants, and why the whole business was not worthwhile except with men of substance. It shows why the recusants were summoned with weary monotony to the Quarter Sessions, and why the Exchequer clerks went on year after year inscribing their names and fines. It shows why there was often a long delay before recusant money started to flow into the Exchequer, and why there is so often a curious time-lag of three or four years in the discharges and exonerations noted in the Recusant Rolls.

(7) All in all this is a most important document, not only for the history of the More Family, but also as an illustration of how the Recusancy laws actually worked.

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THE TEXT (1)

Further Record of Hilary Term, 4 James I.
Essex, Herts and Yorks.

I. IT IS FOUND in the Roll for 1586/7 under Recusants in Essex that Thomas More, gentleman of Leyton, owes £60 under the terms of the 1586 Act for not attending church for 3 months from March 1588: he owes a further £20 for not attending from the day of his conviction (March 13, 1589) until April 15, 1589.

II. IT IS FOUND by an inquest held at Barnburgh, Yorks, on December 9, 1590, that Thomas More owned the freehold, for the term of his life, of the Manor of Barnburgh and of various other properties in Barnburgh, Moseley, Tylts and elsewhere, to the yearly value of £32. (5)

III. IT IS FOUND by an inquest held in Pontefract, Yorks on April 26 1599 that at the time of his conviction Thomas More owned the manor of Barnburgh, a property called the Netherhall in Barnburgh, and the following: 194 acres of land, 37 acres of pasture, 18 acres of woodland and common called the Westmere, all in Barnburgh and Harlington rented or occupied by Thomas Hogley, Alex Wharom and (blank) Tyas (6) to the annual value of £30. And in the Manor of Tylts various enclosures occupied by Peter Rodes gent. of the annual value of £30. And in the Manor of Moseley 30 acres of land, 16 acres of pasture and 10 acres of meadow in Moseley and Whitley occupied by John Clerk, to the annual value of £13. And in the messuage of Little Haughton 50 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow and 10 acres of pasture to the annual value of £6. And in Bolton-upon-Derne land occupied by William Kemp to the annual value of £3. (Total value of these lands = £82: two-thirds = £54-13-4d).

IV. IT IS FOUND by an Inquest held in Wakefield, Yorks, on October 9, 1599, that at the time of his conviction Thomas More possessed three messuages and a cottage in Womersley: 100 acres of land, 30 acres of pasture and 12 acres of meadow in Womersley, occupied by John Dranfield, William Ellin, Henry Faibey, William Bedford, Anthony Jackson, James Einsley, George Asley or their assigns, to the clear annual value of £5. A Messuage and 23 acres of

pasture in Ardwick-le-streete, occupied by Peter Rodes gent, to the net annual value of £1: 2 messuages, 40 acres of land, 20 acres of pasture and 15 acres of meadow in Bramwith, Brattwith and Digburne valued at £2: and various enclosures called Cawsley Closes, estimated at 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres in the town or hamlet of Mosse occupied by John Clarke, valued at £5. (Total value = £13)

V. IT IS FOUND by an inquest held in Hatfield Bishops, Herts on June 4, 1605, that on the day of the inquest Thomas More owned his capital messuage called Gibbines or Gibbeanes: and 160 acres of land, pastures, woods etc in the parish of North Mimms, Herts, in the tenure of the said Thomas, to the net annual value of £80. Also a holding occupied by Robert Smyth valued at £3 per annum: a holding occupied by Edward Dowton valued at £3 p.a.: a holding occupied by William Hayes valued at £13-6-8 p.a. Also a holding occupied by Thomas Lowen valued at £6 p.a., one occupied by William Lowen at £6 p.a., one occupied by Richard Thredder (7) at £1 p.a., one occupied by William Mighell and Agnes Maye widow at £2-10 p.a. Also a holding occupied by John Gumell alias Giles at £2-10 p.a. A holding in the parish of St. Peter's, North Mimms, occupied by John Sleape a £3 p.a. and another occupied by Thomas Chappell at £13-6-8 p.a. Also in the parish of Hatfield a holding occupied by Thomas Pake and Jane Thorowgood (7) at £15 p.a. And two groves, Hazell Grove and Park Grove, in Hatfield, in the tenure of the said Thomas More, valued at £14 p.a. Also a holding in Hatfield and North Mimms occupied by John Crooke at £20 p.a., and another in North Mimms occupied by Henry Parker at £3 p.a. (Total value = £174-13-4: two-thirds = £116-8-10)

VI. CONSIDERING these inquests the Barons of the Court of the Exchequer held that two thirds of the aforesaid Manors, messuages, lands, holdings etc, should be and remain in the hands of the King.

VII. MEMORANDUM Thomas More is now dead. On the day of his death he owed the King £500, to wit £60 for not attending church for three months between March and June 1588, £20 for one month from the date of his conviction (March 13, 1589), and the remaining £420 for the period from April 15,

1589 to December 9, 1591, on which day his lands and tenements were seized into the hands of the late Queen.

VIII. THE THEREFORE the sheriff of Hertfordshire is to enquire into the goods and chattels of Thomas More on the day he died and to value them: he is to discover into whose hands they passed, to seize them and bring them to the Exchequer on February 10, 1607. If the goods and chattels are not sufficient to meet the debt, then he must enquire what lands he owned and sequester them so that their rents and profits may be used to pay off the debt: and he should bring the heirs and executors into the Court on February 10, 1607 to answer for the debts. Thomas More died on August 19, 1606: on that day he owned his chief messuage and other lands and holdings in North Mimms, to the total annual value of £174-13-4. These were put into the hands of the King on February 5, as had been ordered. On the day he died Thomas More had no goods and chattels in the bailiwick, and the heirs, executors and administrators could not be found.

IX. HAVING HEARD and considered the above, the Barons of the Exchequer held that two thirds of the aforesaid chief messuage and the other premises should remain in the hands of the King.

X. AND NOW, this February 12, 1607, Cresacre More, son and heir of the aforesaid Thomas More, recusant deceased, presents himself personally in this Court and asks a hearing. And he asks that the King's hands be lifted from the two thirds of the aforesaid properties and from the goods and chattels, saying that it is unjust that he be further vexed and molested.

XI. BECAUSE he should be discharged both from the seizure of the lands and from the debt of £600 demanded from his father Thomas More deceased. For by the Act of Parliament of 1586 it was enacted that whosoever such offender shall make submission and become conformable or shall fortune to die, that then no forfeiture of £20 or any seizure of lands, from and after such submission and conformity or death and full satisfaction of all the Arrearages of £20 monthly before such seizure due or payable, shall ensue or be continued against such Offender.

XII. AND FURTHER the debt of £500 has been paid from the

rents and the profits which were seized, to wit:-

£ 76- 2- 6 paid by John Sotherne as farmer of the lands in Yorkshire

@ £10-0-4 p.a. for 7½ years up to March 25, 1598

£ 95-19-11 paid by Thomas Somester as farmer of the Yorkshire lands

@ £54-13-4 p.a. for 2 years 1598-1600

£372-16- 2 paid by Edward Jenney as farmer of the Yorkshire lands

@ £76-13-4 p.a. for 5½ years March 1600 to Sept 1605.

£ 58- 4- 6 paid by tenants of the lands in North Mimms, Hatfield Bishops and Esindon, Herts

@ £116-8-10 p.a. for the half year June-September 1605.

£100- 0- 0 paid by Robert Wivell for lands in both Yorks and Herts

@ £200 p.a. for one half year Sept. 1605 - March 1606.

£703- 3- 1 Total: (A certificate of the Clerk of the Pipe produced)

XIII. UNDER ESSEX it is stated that Thomas More of Leyton, gent. owes £80, viz. £60 for 3 months from March 25, 1588: and £20 for one month from March 13, 1589: and he owes a further £420 for 21 months from April 1589 to December 9, 1590, on which day his lands and properties were seized. Total debt is £500.

XIV. MEMORANDUM the late Queen and the present King have had a total of £702-3-1 as above. The records of the above are to be found in the Great Roll of 1590/1 under ITEM EBOR, when a tally was issued to Richard Goodrich. Also in the Recusant Rolls for the following years:-

34, 35, 36, 37, 38 and 39 under EBOR

40 in ITEM EBOR and in ITEM ADHUC ITEM EBOR

43 in ITEM ADHUC ITEM EBOR

44 in ADHUC ITEM EBOR

1 & 2 James I in EBOR

3 James I in HERTF.

(This is all certified by Edward Vaughan, Clerk of the Pipe).

XV. ALL these statements Cresacre More is willing to certify and prove. Therefore he does not understand why the King should continue to oppress him and he asks for a Judgment that the aforesaid Thomas More, recusant deceased, and all his properties and his heir and assigns should be discharged and quit of the debt of £500, and that the lands and properties should be taken out of the King's hands and restored to him.

XVI. THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, Sir Henry Hobart, acting for the King in this case, has examined the text of the Act of 1586, and he agrees that if a recusant has paid up all the arrears of fines (@ the rate of £20 per month), then his lands should be restored to him. Also he accepts the certificate of the Clerk of the Pipe that the debt of £500 has already been met, as explained above. Therefore he accepts the plea as pleaded by Cresacre More.

XVII. JUDGEMENT was given in favour of Cresacre More, who is exonerated from all debt and restored to the possession of his lands and properties.

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It would surely have been natural for Cresacre More to go home from Whitehall to Leyton rejoicing that he had got out of the hands of the tax-gatherers and did not have to pay for his father's obstinate adherence to the old Faith. But surely it was equally understandable that the Exchequer did not want to lose so lucrative an account. And simply by consulting their own Recusant Rolls (or perhaps the handy Schedule kept in the Office, E.377/57), (8) they could see at a glance that Cresacre himself was a convicted recusant. Accordingly just three months later we find a Letter Patent, signed by the King himself, granting Cresacre More and Humphrey Packington to John Grove, gentleman: what this meant and how John Grove himself appeared in the Exchequer Court in 1615, must be dealt with under Cresacre More.

D. SHANAHAN.

NOTES:

(1) The reference is in the Recusant Roll E.377/14 for 1604/5. There Edmund Jenney's lease (under EBOR) closes down because the Yorks lands are taken over by Robert Wyvell (under HERTF). The Herts section contains the Yorks and Herts land, and Wyvell is charged with £200 rent for the lot. A note at the bottom says that Wyvell paid into the Treasury £100 on 29 April 4 Jac.I "pro Iacobo Sandeleyns milite de regard..." and a further note says that the lease is to terminate "for a reason given in the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll 4 Jac.I, Hilary term, under "Records", (E.368/526, rotulet 181.) We could not have traced this reference without the help of Father Bowler. These later notes added to the Recusant Rolls are invariably in a different hand, but it is impossible to tell when they were made: presumably the accountants of the Exchequer, going through the Rolls, would have made them to show why the account had closed down.

(2) Section VIII of Statute 23 Eliz. c.1: "And be it likewise enacted that all and every offence against this Act or against the Acts of the 1st, 5th or 13th years of her Majesties Reign touching acknowledging of her Majesties Supream Government in Causes Ecclesiastical or other matters touching the Service of God or coming to Church or Establishment of true Religion in this Realm shall and may be inquirable as well before Justices of the Peace as any other Justices named in the same Statutes within 1 year & 1 day after every such offence committed, anything to the contrary notwithstanding." (Statutes at Large (ed.1763), Vol.II, p.624) The references in the Essex Record Office are: Q/SR 97/59; 102/30; 107/64; 110/61. Assizes 35/30/T/44 & 51.

(3) cf. Essex Recusant 1 (1959) and 2 (1960).

(4) cf. Essex Recusant 1 (1959) : 98.

(5) In 1573 the More lands in Yorks were listed in the Feet of Fines (printed in Yorkshire Archaeological & Topographical Society Record Series, vol.II, p.2,

page 39): they included 140 messuages, 60 cottages and 2 watermills. It is difficult to imagine that their annual value was only £32.

- (6) The Tyas came down to Leyton with the Mores and appear as recusants in the local records.
- (7) Thredder and Thorogood appear as recusant names in Essex.
- (8) Inquisitiones post mortem on Thomas More's lands in Herts, and Yorks were taken March 17 and October 5, 1607. (PRO C.142/299/150 & C.142/300/171). Cf. the unpublished thesis of Father Michael O'Dwyer, Catholic Recusants in Essex 1580 - 1600 p.149.

P.R.O. E.377/57: ESSEX RECUSANTS IN AN EXCHEQUER DOCUMENT
1582 - 1642

MEMBRANE 12 (RECTO) cont.

Period: Oct. 1 1611-March 1612. Convicted: September 29, 1612

Timothy Suffolde	Teckinge, yeoman	£120
William Nelstrep	Kelvedon, gent	£120
Cresaker Moore	Leyton	£120 quit
Anne Moore	same, spinster	£120
Robert Tyers	same, tailor	£120
Robert Smith	Dunmow, weaver	£120
Alice Smarte	same, widow	£120
Elizabeth Cranishe	same, widow	£120
Maria Cranishe	same, widow	£120
Elizabeth Cranishe	same, widow	£120
Alice Cocke	same, widow	£120
Johanna Godfrey	same, spinster	£120
William Wiseman	Wimbishe, knight	£120
Roland Harrison	same, yeoman	£120
James Wilford	Quendon, gent	£120 quit
Maria Nelstrepp	Kelvedon, spinster, wife of William, gent	£120
Winifride Smith	Dunmow, wife of Robert, weaver	£120

Johanna Thredder	same, spinster	£120
<u>Period:</u> Jan. 1 - Feb. 28, 1612 and July 20 - Sept. 14, 1612.		
<u>Convicted:</u> September 14, 1612		
(blank) Bendeshe	Bumsted, wife of Richard	£80

MEMBRANE 12 (DORSO)

John Wiseman	Braddocks, Wimbishe	£80 quit
Henry Huddlestone	Pattiswicke, armiger	£80 quit
<u>Period:</u> Feb. 1, 1611 - Feb. 1, 1612 and July - Sept 14, 1612.		
Francis Willford	Quendon	£280
<u>Period:</u> Jan. 1, 1612 - June 1612.		
William Hunt	Boreham, gent	£120
Thomas Little	Farneham, bricklayer	£120
Elena Whitney	Dagenham, spinster	£120
Thomas Crawley	Manuden, armiger	£120
Edward Raye	same, gent	£120
Margaret Mason	same, widow	£120
George Moore	same, yeoman	£120
Margaret Crowley	same, wife of Thomas, armiger	£120
Maria Bendelowes	Finchingfield, spinster, wife of William, armiger	£120
Maria Slinge	Great Baddow, wife of Richard, gent.	£120

Period: Aug 1 - 28

John Hayward	Bulmer, yeoman	£20
Richard Candeler	Little Hallingbury	£20
Richard White	Hutton, gent	£20
George Wharton	Hutton, yeoman	£20
William Bird	Stondon, gent	£20
Christofer Bird	same, gent	£20
Thomas Bird	same, gent	£20
Margaret Hakes	same, widow	£20
Katerina Bird	same, wife of William	£20
Maria Harckleford	same, spinster wife of (blank) Harckleford	£20
Maria White	Hutton, spinster wife of Richard	£20
<u>Period:</u> Oct. 1 - 28, 1612	<u>Convicted:</u> September 30, 1613.	
Edward White	White Notley, gent	£20

Elizabeth Cooke	same, spinster	£20
Henry Whitebread	same, yeoman	£20 quit
William Bell	Navestocke, carpenter	£20
Tristram Dawson	Walthamstow, husbandman	£20
Anne Wrighte	White Notley, wife of Henry, yeoman	£20
Joan Hayward	same, spinster, wife of Thomas	£20
Elizabeth Jennings	Dunmowe, spinster, wife of Richard, gent	£20
Elizabeth Dennis	same, spinster, wife of John Dennis	£20
Dorothy Blage	Little Baddow, spinster, wife of Giles	£20

Period: May 1 - 28, 1613

Henry Langley	Takeley, husbandman	£20
Anne Jenninge	Great Dunmow, spinster	£20

MEMBRANE 13 (RECTO)

Period: April - June, 1613. Convicted: January 1614

William Greene	Little Samford, gent	£60 quit
Silvester Dennis	Little Eyston, yeoman	£60
Alice Dennys	Great Dunmow, widow	£60
Anthony Jennings	same, gent	£60
Richard Bateman	Toppesfeild, taylor	£60
Elena Jones	Ingatestone, spinster	£60
Elizabeth Dennys	Gt. Dunmow, spinster, wife of John, yeoman	£60

Period: April - September, 1612. Convicted: May 5, 1613

Christiana Dawson	Walthamstow, widow	£120
Anne Jenninge	Great Dunmow, spinster	£120
Brigitta Jenninge	same, spinster	£120
Maria Jenninge	same, spinster	£120
Margaret Dowe	White Roding, spinster	£120
Joan Terry	Ingatestone, spinster, wife of John, yeoman	£120
Grissagon Thorne	Leaden Roding, spinster, wife of Thomas, clergyman	£120

Period: June 10 - July 10 1613 and Aug 1 - Sept 26, 1614.
Convicted: August 1, 1614.

Anne Eve	Munden, wife of Richard	£60
Joyce Southcote	Little Totham, wife of John	£60

Period: Jan. - June 1614. Convicted: January 1615.

Roger Hopthrowe	South Ockendon, yeoman	£120
Dorothy Jennings	Great Dunmow, spinster	£120
Dorothy Seawell	same, spinster	£120
John Payne	Boxted, husbandman	£120
Gertrude Clarcke	same, spinster	£120
Anna Eagleston	same, spinster	£120
Gertrude Clarcke	same, wife of John, gent	£120
Agnes Eve	Mundon, spinster, wife of Richard	£120
Margery Dennys	Little Easton, spinster, wife of Silvester	£120
Anne Hopthrowe	South Ockendon, spinster, wife of Roger	£120

Periods June-July 1614 and July 24 - September 18, 1615.

Convicted: July 13, 1615.

Edward White	White Notley, gent	£60
Henry Whitebread	same, gent	£60 quit
Anna Anger	East Tilbury	£60
Anne Wright	East Tilbury, wife of Henry	£60
John Paschall	White Notley, gent	£60

MOTHER NICHOLAS, O.S.U.

MOTHER JOSEPH MARY, O.S.U.

PAPIST TOMBS IN ESSEX CHURCHES III: DOWNHAM

DOWNHAM: The church, dedicated to St Margaret, stands on a hill, surrounded by trees, in a lovely rural setting. Below the hill, off the road and screened by trees, stands Downham Hall, the Elizabethan home of the Atslow family. The church is in good condition, having been almost entirely rebuilt in 1871. The embattled western tower, however, built of brick, is old, dating back to about 1500. Owing to recent sacrileges it is deemed wise to keep the church

locked as it stands in a lonely spot. It was by the kindness of the rector of Downham, the Rev. B.E. Bennett, that I was able to examine the interior.

On the northern wall there are four brasses commemorating the Tyrrell family of "Fremingnalls", the old house demolished to make way for the new reservoir, which was constructed a few years ago. On the two brasses in front of the pulpit are the inscriptions, in Medieval French:

Mon^r Thomas Tyrell gist icy
dieu de s'alme eit verrae merry,

and underneath:

Alice q̄ fut la fēme de Mon^r Thom's
Tyrell gist icy, dieu de s'alme eit m'c'y.

(Coat of Arms.)

Within the sanctuary:

Here lyeth buried Joyce late
wife to Iohn Tyrell Esq. and daugh
ter to Iohn Baker Esq. who deceased (blank)
of Iune 1594,

and next to this, nearer the altar:

Here lyeth buried good S^r Henrie Terrell
Knight & Dame Thomassin his wife, who
deceased the 20 of May in the yere 1588.

J. Charles Cox, in his "Essex", published in 1909, gives the position of the brasses as under the western tower. There is no indication as to when they were removed to where they are now. He assigns the two Medieval French inscriptions to the fourteenth century.

Professor A.H. Church, F.R.S., F.S.A., in his article on "The Family of Atslow", in "The Genealogist", New Series, edited by H.W. Forsyth Harwood, 1905, mentions several of the Atslow family as being buried at Downham, but the only monument to any one of this family is a tombstone in the floor under the tower, which reads:

Here lyeth the Body
of S^r WILLIAM ANDREW
Bar who dyed the 15 of
August 1684. He married
HELEN the daughter & heire
of EDWARD ATSLOE Esq.
deceased Lord of this manor.

The last line is barely legible as a stove has been erected-
ed and fixed, covering the lower part of the stone.

RAMSDEN BELLHOUSE: The church was entirely rebuilt in 1880-
1881, and there is nothing old about it except the spire.
My visit to the churches of RAMSDEN BELLHOUSE and STOCK was
made possible by the kindness of the Rector of Stock the
Rev. J.G.T. Tatham.

STOCK HARVARD: The history of this church, All Saints',
goes back as far as 1232. A great deal of restoration was
necessary after the church was severely damaged by a land
mine which fell in the churchyard on December 13th, 1940. It
is beautifully situated in a prominent position above the
hill which leads up to the village. There is an interesting
brass on the south wall behind the eagle lectern. It is sur-
mounted by a Coat of Arms and underneath, the figure of a
knight clad in armour. This is fixed to the old altar stone,
on which two of the crosses of its consecration can still be
seen. "To put it to its present use", in the words of a
leaflet that I was given, "was an act of sacrilege about
which nothing can now be done."

Coat of Arms

Figure of Knight clad in Armour

The Corpes of Richarde Twedye esquire lyethe buried here
in tombe
Bewrapte in claye and so reserved, untill the joyefulle
dome,
Whoe in his lyffe hath served well, against the Inglyshe
foes
In fforen landes and eke at home, his countrye well yt
knowes.
The prince he served in courte full longe, a pensioner in
psonage

In his countrye a justice eke, a man full grave and sage
Ffoure almes howsses here hath he builte, for foure poore
knight to dwell

And them indewed with stypendes lardge enoughe to kepe
them well

In ffiftye eighte yeres his course he ran a (brass broken
here) y^e 28 Januarye

1574

"History of All Saints", Stock Harvard", a little book by L.C.H., supplies the missing word in the last line as "occideas". The very small fragments left off the tops of the letters suggests that this may be a correct reading; or perhaps the line in the book was transcribed before the brass was broken.

It is also stated that the brass was moved from the floor in 1841, and what is probably Richard Twedie's tomb was accidentally opened, and then re-sealed, during the restoration of 1948.

SISTER MARY CATHERINE, O.S.U.
(Brentwood)

IRISH WHISKEY 10d A QUART

Researching can be a wearisome affair at times especially when the searcher seems to labour without much profit. Occasionally however, some diverting item comes to him to lighten the labour. We may be permitted to print the following letters which were lighted upon and printed about a hundred and fifty years ago by the Keeper of MSS in the British Museum in his series of Original Letters which he selected from autographs in the British Museum. The letters may be set out as they were written since they tell their own story. The first of them is dated c. 1523 and was written to Cardinal Wolsey by a certain R. Gruffuth. The second letter of 1603 is an extract from an unpublished MSS descriptive of Pembrokeshire.

(a) "Pleasith it youre mooste noble Grace, my duetie of

.... mooste humble recommendacions hadd unto your Grace, that there is so gret abundance of Irisshemen latelye comyn within these xii monethes into Pembrokeshire, the Lordship of Haverfore West, Pembroke, and Tenbye, with suche that be comyn theder before and inhabited there, that by estymacion do amounte at the leste to the nombre of twentye thousande persons and above, of all maner sorte, and the mooste parte of the same Raskells be out of the domynions of the Kings Rebellyon therle of Desmonde; and verey few of theym out of the Englisse pale of Ireland. And the Kings Towne of Tenbye is almost cleane Irishe as well the hedd men and rulers as the comyns of the said Towne; and of their highe and presumtuoux myndes doo dissoobey all maner the kings processe that comyth to theym out of the kings Eschequier of Pembroke; supposyng that their Charter woll bere theym therin, where of truethe their Charter is no thyng like so large of liberties as they do clayme it to be. And one of theym, caullled Germyn Gruffith, borne under the domynyon of the said Erle, is now owner of two gret shippes well aponyted with ordenaunces; and it is daylye proved by experyence that fewe or none of Englysshement or Welsshemen can be receyved amongst theym to anye service or wages. And the last yere I herde of a gret nowmber of the same Irisshemen that were cast over lande upon the cost within the said Shere, wherupon I made a preveye watche, and in two little parishes in one nyght I gadered of theym above two hunderde that were newe comyn, besids as monye that were comyn there before; and all the same newe company I did sende to See agayne. Albeit, sythyn, they be comyn agen with manye moo and every on that comythe doth clayme kyndryd to one or other of the same Shire, townes, and countrie aforesaid. And ever sythyn that I expulsed the said new coymn Irisshemen out of the countre as before the rest do grudge agaynst me. And of truethe in all the circuete there be four Irishe agaynste one Englisse or Welsshe: and therefore, after my power mynde, it were expedyent and necessarye that the Kinges Highenes with his moost honorable Counsaill shulde ponder the same and devyse some order to be taken...." (1)

(b) "As for Irishemen they be so powdred among the Inhabitantes of Rowse and Castlemartyn, that in every village you shall finde the thirde, fourth or fifth householder an Irisshman: and now of late they swarne more then on tymes past by reason of these late warres in Ireland; and if it so contynue for the tyme to come, in short tyme they are lyke to match the other inhabitants in nombre. These for the most parte speake and use here the Englisshe tongue yett in such sort as that all men maye discern these to be that conutreye people, as also by the rudenes of their maners, for the servant will usuallye thow his maister, and thicketh it noe offence. As many as come out of the countrey of Weisford saye they under stande noe Irishe, neyther doth enye well under stande their Englisse. They are so encreased of late that there are some whole parishes inhabited by the Irishe haveing not one Englisse or Welshe but the parson of the parish; and these Irishe people here doe use their Counttrye trade in makeing Aquavitie in greate abundance, whiche they carrie to be soulde abroade the countreye on horsbacks and otherwise, soe that weekly you may be sure to have Aquavitie to be sold at your dore; and by meanes thereof it is grown to be usual drinke in most mens houses instede of wyne, sone of them makyng exceedinge goode and soulde better cheape then in any part of England or Ireland, for I have drunke as good as some Rosa Solis made by them, and this sold usuallye for xv^d a quarte; but comonly you shall have verye good for x^d or xij^d a quarte, which is better cheape then ever you could buye the like in anye parte of England." (2)

CANON B. C. FOLEY.

NOTES:

(1) Cotton. MSS in B.M., Titus B xi, f. 416.
(2) Extract from Harl. MSS 6250 in B.M.

THE DECLARATIONS OF INDULGENCE IN 1687/8
AND THE COUNTY OF ESSEX

King James II issued his first Declaration of Indulgence on the 4th April, 1687. In it he said: "We do likewise declare that it is our royal will and pleasure that from henceforth the execution of all and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, for not coming to church, or not receiving the sacrament, or for any other nonconformity to the religion established, or for, or by reason of, the exercise of religion in any manner whatsoever, be immediately suspended; and the further execution of the said penal laws and everyone of them is hereby suspended." (1) Plain words enough, but the Declaration also declared that the Church of England should be maintained and that monastic lands would be retained by their owners. A sop to powerful opinion. Parliament had been prorogued but the King dissolved it and began looking round the Counties for the representation he wanted. Many of the Lord Lieutenants (Royal appointments) were unwilling to influence the choice of County Members and they were relieved of office and new appointments made. This happened in Essex.

There was a second Declaration of Indulgence (2) issued on the 27th of April 1688, almost a year to the day of the date of the original. In this the King repeated the substance of the first Indulgence and promised a Parliament by November of that year. Like its predecessor it was not well received and it was read in very few churches. The opposition of certain Bishops sent seven of them to the tower. At the famous trial of the seven Bishops one of the judges was Sir Richard Alibon of Dagenham, the first Catholic to be appointed a judge since the Reformation. (3)

What was the reaction of the County of Essex to these Indulgences of Toleration and the promise of a new Parliament?

The links between the Throne and Essex were, momentarily, strong. After the first Declaration the Earl of Oxford was dismissed as Lord Lieutenant and the 6th Lord Petre appointed in his place. He held office only from April 9th to October 19th, 1688. His kinsman, Father Edward Petre S.J. was the King's confessor and a member of the Privy Council. (4)

He belonged to Essex. These were the local ties between the County and the Throne.

With a new Parliament in view the King circulated a questionnaire to all Lord Lieutenants which was to be answered by all Deputies and Justices.

Sir John Bramston of "Skreens" in the Parish of Roxwell (M.P. for Maldon in the Dissolved Parliament) committed the King's enquiry to his Diary (5). "The King, in pursuance of this Declaration for Indulgence, and that he may settle and secure those of his owne religion... His Majesty hath given instructions to the Lords Lieutenants and others to treat with the Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace, who hath put, by his Majesty's order, three questions:-

1. Whether if you are chosen a Knight Sheire, or a Burgess for the next Parliament, will give your vote for taking away the penal laws and the test (Ad).
2. Will you give your vote for one that will, if you will not?
3. Will you live peacably with your neighbours under his Majesties dispensation of those laws and the test?"

Lord Petre, Lord Lieutenant, made a tour of the County to put the three questions in person (6) - "He carried divers gentlemen, Papists, with him in his circuit." He went to Colchester and Maldon where he received the Freedom of the Borough. He went to "several parts of the County" and, not content, rode to London to seek out Sir John Bramdon at his town house in Greek Street. Sir John was not at home so he was summoned to the "Ship" in Grace Street the following day to answer the three questions propounded by the King.

This detail is given to show the zeal with which the Catholic Lord Lieutenant carried the wishes of the King.

The result of his interrogations appears in a manuscript. (7) Roughly fifty Deputies and Justices had the three questions put to them and their replies appear in full. "The Answers of the Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace for the County of Essex, as they have been separately examined to the three questions" reveals a good deal about Essex

and the faith in that year. It was probably the King's hope to get a Parliament that would repeal the Penal Laws and Test Act. An analysis of the replies is of great interest:-

- (1) Whether they would stand for Parliament?
The majority refused.
- (2) Whether they would vote for the repeal of the Penal Laws and the Test Act? To this question there were many equivocating answers clearly framed not to commit the man interrogated to one thing or the other. Fifteen, however, declared plainly for keeping the Penal Laws and twelve in favour of their abolition.
- (3) Whether you would live peaceably with your neighbours under His Majesties dispensation of those laws and the Test? With one accord they answered to living peaceably but few answered to the second part of the question. Most of the County Gentlemen, like Sir John Bramston, hedged, said they were old, etc., but a few came out wholly in favour of all three questions. These included Sir Richard Browne and Sir Richard Wiseman.

Whether the prominent recusant families thought their religious troubles were coming to an end, is hard to say. Opposition to the two Declarations was strong and vocal. The seven Bishops were tried and found not guilty.

Agents were sent into the County in the royal interest to find out something about popular opinion and the election of members for the new parliament. The agents "finde many of the Church of England moderate and well inclined to part with Tests and Lawes, their religion being secured according to your Matie declaration.

The Roman Catholiques, Independants, Anabaptists, Quakers ... are generally in your Maties interest ... and are unanimously agreed to elect such Members of Parliament as will abolish the Tests and the Lawes."

"

ESSEX

Colonel Mildmay makes it his interest to be chosen and to joyn his interest with Lord Maynard's second son.

The Catholicks and most of the dissenters are for Sir Josiah Child and Col. Rich and if your Matie approve thereof that you would please to direct Sir Josiah Child to joyn his interest with Col'l Rich". (8)

The Declaration of Indulgence was issued in April of 1688. All this vain questioning was between this date and the 11th of December following when James the II fled from England and Catholics endured the Penal Laws for another hundred years.

J.G. O'LEARY.

NOTES:

- (1) English Historical Documents, Ed. D.C. Douglas 1953, in progress, Vol. VIII, p.395.
- (2) Ibid. p.399
- (3) D.N.B.
- (4) D.N.B.
- (5) Edited by Lord Braybrooke. Camden Society, 1845. The house is gone, moat remains.
- (6) Ibid.
- (7) Bodleian Library. Rawlinson, A 139a and 139b. Printed in: "King James II proposed repeal of the Penal Laws and Test Act in 1688" by A.L. Browne. Essex Archaeological Society. Transactions, Vol. XXIII pp.123 et seq.
- (8) Ibid.

A BILL FOR CANDLES IN THORNDON HALL CHAPEL
EXTRACT FROM LORD PETRE'S LONDON BILLS (1)

The following fragment relating presumably to purchases for the Chapel at Thorndon Hall, or possibly for Ingatestone Chapel, has been found lately:-

"John Rablus

1799 Jan. 30th	36 lb Chappel Candles	£5 8 0
Febr. 23rd	A Pascal Candle wt 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ lb	18 9
	A Teneraie do	12 6
		"

P. COVERDALE.

NOTE:

(1) E. 192 - 19, in P.R.O.

CATHOLICS IN THE BECONTREE HUNDRED IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Becontree Hundred is that part of South-West Essex which is nearest to London, of which it forms a part today. This was not so in the eighteenth century when it grew vegetables for the London market and provided mansions for the London rich. Today its 23 parishes, just under a third in the diocese of Brentwood, have a Catholic population of 61,785, while the rest of the diocese musters 70,574. The figures are from the Brentwood Diocesan Year Book, 1961, which also lists 33 schools in the Hundred. The figures for the eighteenth century are derived from the parochial returns of Papists to the Bishop of London; they are more unacceptable than those from the rest of the county of Essex and the more so the further back in time we go. 285 Papists were counted in the parishes of the Becontree Hundred out of 999 in the county in 1780; 112 out of 719 in 1767; and only 10 out of 303 in 1706. Twenty-two family names of recusants before 1700 are mentioned as living in Barking, Dagenham, Leyton, Walthamstow, East Ham and West Ham, in the first two volumes of the "Essex Recusant"; none of them recur in the eighteenth century returns of Papists.

BARKING: The 1706 return of Papists gives "Richard Wright Innkeeper, Susannah, his wife, Winifred, his daughter, an infant." ("Essex Recusant", Vol II, page 18); while a visitation return of 1766 says "The Vicar doth not know of any

Papist resident in y^e Parish, what there are amongst the Potatoes Merchants, who stay no longer than they are concerned in y^e management of their (illegible word) he cannot answer for.." (Essex Recusant II, 90).

In the next year the Vicar, Chr. Musgrave, reported on Oct. 27th, "A poor man who sells fish aged 35. His wife aged 25. They have a son aged 2 $\frac{1}{2}$. They have been resident in Barking about 2 years. These are all that I can hear of in this parish, the account of them I had from the man himself, who is very quiet and inoffensive." (Return D.78, Fulham Palace papers with the Church Commissioners, Millbank).

Barking is not listed in the summary Return of the Number of Papists in the Diocese of London, 1780, in the House of Lords Record Office.

DAGENHAM: There is a nil return for 1780 among the records of the Catholic Record Society. This is unusual for most of the nil returns seem not to have been preserved.

LITTLE ILFORD: John Chamberlayne reported on 27 Sept. 1767, "In Obedience to your Lordship's Commands this waits upon you to acquaint you that in the Parish of Little Ilford there is only one Roman Catholick, who is an Old Man and a Dealer in Potatoes." There are no other returns for Little Ilford, and none at all for Great Ilford. (Return D.101)

LEYTON, LOW: Nil return, 1706. The 1767 return (D.108-9) is interesting.

"My Lord, I have enclosed a list of Irish Papists now residing in my parish. They are employed by the farmers in cultivating potatoes. - The same persons seldom continue long yet a succession of very near the same numbers is constantly kept up. They have no place of worship in my parish, but are permitted as many as please, to hear Mass in a private chapel in the next parish. A priest comes regularly to confess them - I am my Lord,

Yr Lordship's most dutiful
Son & Serv T. Keighly.

Leyton

Sept. 23rd 1767

....

1	Patrick Neal	18	Laurence Mooney
2	Michael Hayes	19	John Harrington
3	Michael Cragh	20	John Hurley
4	John Hurley	21	Robt Hayes
	Daniel Gough Housekeeper	22	Morrice Sullivan
	Michael Dorant H.Keeper	23	Henry Neal
5	John Farrell	24	James Allen
6	Bartholomew Marnoc	25	Paul Rowland
	Daniel Sculle H.Keeper	26	John Ryland
7	Mathew Brenan	27	Patrick Cinning
	Sam ^l Colly Housekeeper	28	Martha Shoenecy
8	W ^m Gavenagh	29	Frank Dennelow
	Tho ^s Carey Housekeeper	30	W ^m Collins
	Tho ^s Kelly Housekeeper	31	Cornelius Pajon
9	Gabrias Bready	32	Michael Cray
10	Daniel Breadin	33	Charley Hegan
11	Anthony Kennedy	34	James Harney
12	Jamy Mearnaugh	35	John Allen
13	John Kins	36	Baker Balf
14	Daniel Collins	37	John Harding
15	Paul O brien	38	---- Camell
16	Patrick Dunn	39	Tho ^s Hanley
17	Mathew & Judith Murphy	40	Earl Carty
41	Patrick Mickmedreman		Cornelius Reding
42	Simon Price		John Bridges
43	Andrew Fluman		Patrick Brinet

Leyton in Essex.

T. Keighly Vicar."

In 1780 the same vicar reported on October 3rd.

"My Lord, In obedience to your Lordship's command of the 16th past, I am to acquaint you that there are now residing in the parish of Leyton in Essex thirty four papists; the greater part of which are Irishmen, who are employed by the Farmers in cultivating potatoes. There is no Popish school in my parish, nor any place of worship where the papists meet."

EAST HAM: There is no return for 1706, and no Papist seems to have been called to take the Oaths of Allegiance etc. on 1 Oct. 1715, when the vicar of East Ham, Dr. Richard Welton, refused to appear. However Estcourt and Payne's "English Catholic Nonjurors, 1715" (page 63) shows Richard

Langhorne, of East Ham Level, gent. as registering a freehold estate there worth £137 per annum. His will, executed on 14 Oct 1719 and given probate on 19 Dec., is said in Payne's "Records of English Catholics of 1715" (page 16) to have given legacies to his brother Charles and sister Laetitia, and his cousins Richard and Elizabeth, while administration of the estate of Laetitia was granted 8 Dec 1729 to her sister, Catherine Burton. (page 40).

On 11 July 1766 the vicar, Joseph Sims, gave a nil return of Papists in the visitation return. Thirteen months later (A.2, Fulham Palace Papers), he wrote:- "My Lord. Having had an Ague and Fever hanging upon me all this year, it was thought a change of air might be of great Benefit to me and for this Reason I was not at Home when your Lordship's letter was brought to my house and therefore I hope your Lordship will be so good as to excuse my not answering it sooner. And it is with great pleasure that I now acquaint your Lordship that I do not know or believe there is one single Papist or reputed Papist in my Parish, except some Irishmen, who have no settlement in my Parish but come here occasionally to plant and dig up Potatoes and as soon as the potatoe season is over go to their proper Homes, as I suppose. And of those Irishmen, some are almost daily going out of the Parish and others coming into it, so that I fear a complete List of them is not to be obtained. But if your Lordship requires it, I will get as exact Lists of them as I can and will transmit them to your Lordship by the first Opportunity. I beg leave to assure your Lordship that I shall always take great pleasure in executing your Lordships commands...."

The House of Lords summary for 1780 gives 59 Papists at Ham East, but the actual parish return is not amongst those held by the Catholic Record Society.

WEST HAM: More is known of this parish than of any other in the Becontree Hundred in the eighteenth century. In 1706, "In the Parish of West Ham, there is but one English Papist, which is Mary Belchier, widow, aged about 70. All the estate she has is a small house of £11 or £12 per annum which was lately left her as a legacy during her life.

The other Papists are all Frenchmen and they are Mr. Didier Richard, a Callicoe printer too; What estate he has is in

stock. His partner M. Theodore Haultin; they have four Frenchmen who are Papists and work for them in the Callicoe printing Trade and these have wives and children but some of their wives are Protestants." (Essex Recusant, II 21).

In the 1766 visitation return the vicar reported, "According to the best information I can get there are no Papists in the Parish, or none who acknowledge themselves to be of that persuasion. A few Irish labourers who are employed at a particular Season of the year in the culture of Potatoes and whose residence is temporary and short, are not, I presume, objects of this Enquiry." (Essex Recusant II, 93).

By the next year the vicar, John Warner, had changed his mind about what was required and sent (D.100) "A List of the Papists in the Parish of West Ham.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Years Resident</u>
Mary Markham	45	Gentlewoman	3
Luke Holland	60	Staymaker	8
Jacob McOwen	30	Printer, Reputed Papist	7
John Callaughan	27	Labourer	4
Luke Burn	42	Do	4
Eleanor Burn	48	"	4
Mich ^t Dempsty	50	"	11
Judith Dempsty	44	"	11
Mary Kendall	60	"	20
Thos Mathews	45	"	9
John Malone	66	"	9
Ann Malone	67	"	9
James Dial	46	"	12
Peter Roney	45	"	16
Francis Dial	50	"	16
Delahoyde	50	"	20
Cath ^e Riley	32	"	3
Jacob Kinney	28	"	4
Bridget Fox	49	"	20
Thos Magarn	50	"	1
Hannah Robinson	40	"	17
Ch ^s McQuire	45	"	4
Jud ^h McQuire	23	"	1
Mich ^l Ryan	30	"	1

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Years Resident</u>
Peter Noland	58	Labourer	5
Dan ^l Cook	50	"	5
Nath ^l McQuire	52	"	14
Mary McQuire	50	"	14
John Collin	48	"	20
Ann ^k Collin	60	"	20
Pat ^s Crawford	28	"	2
Nich ^s Flanegal	60	"	28
Phobe Flanegal	59	"	28
John Swaney	30	"	2
Hannah Swaney	25	"	2
Rob ^t Bryer	40	"	12
Mackle Marone	50	"	1
Cath ^e Marone	40	"	1
Rob ^t Boxbrow	40	"	2
Thos Murphy	63	"	18
Owen Hoy	60	"	26
Mary Mackorn	45	"	3
Christ ^r Galan	30	"	3
Ruth Galan	24	"	3
Terence Manning	40	"	1
Marg ^t Manning	43	"	1
James Barret	24	"	7
Ann Barret	20	"	7
Daniel Dortsy	50	"	6
John Fitzpatrik	40	"	8
James Fitzpatrik	30	"	8
Thos Goram	45	"	12
Francis Coen	40	"	6

In all 53

John Warner

Vicar of West Ham, Essex."

October 1st 1767.

The 1780 return is among the Catholic Record Society's records, but is not included in the House of Lords summary, which needs increasing from 839 to 999.

"My Lord, The Number of Papist or reputed Papist in the Parish of West-Ham Essex is 160 - according to the strictest enquire made by my Lord Y^r Lordships most

West Ham

Oct^r 8, 1780

Dutyful Son and humb^e Ser^t

Jonathan Reeves, Curate & Lecturer of West-Ham Essex. "

It was at Stratford in West Ham that the first modern parish or mission was begun by Dr. Thomas Wright. His baptismal register opens on 22 Dec. 1788 at Plaistow when he baptised Anne, daughter of John Webb and Brigid Phelin of Leytonstone. He must have moved to Stratford by 1791, for following the Catholic Relief Act of that year, he certified to the Clerk of the Peace on the 4th day of October, that "I Thomas Wright Clerk, am a Roman Catholic secular Priest & Minister of the Roman Catholic Chapel situate in Ham Lane, in the hamlet of Stratford in the Parish of West-Ham." His register shows that he served all or nearly all the Catholics in the Becontree Hundred as well as others further afield.

For later details see the late Canon J.L.Whitfield's "The Beginnings of Stratford Mission" in the November 1920 "Brentwood Diocesan Magazine"; Canon B. Foley's articles in the "Brentwood Diocesan Year Book"; and my articles on 'The Abbé Chevrollais' and 'The Stratford Catholic Charity Schools' in Vol.I and II of the 'Essex Recusant'.

WALTHAMSTOW: The Vicar, Thomas Wetenhall, reported in 1766, "I know but of one Roman Catholick Family in the Parish, the Gentleman who is in considerable business in London comes regularly to Church and professes himself a Protestant, but his Lady has Mass performed most Sundays. There is no Priest constantly resident in the house and as they are Frequently Changing can not find out their names..."

In next year's return the Lady's age is given as 46. She has a 19 year old daughter and two Catholic female servants, aged 30 and 18. In 1780 the number of Papists has grown to 32, but the parish return is not available. It seems that one of the priests at Walthamstow was Fr. John Talbot, S.J, between 1769 and 1772.

WANSTEAD: The 1706 return reports "No papist in the Parish of Wanstead - William Colegrave, Esq^r has a manor & Estate in the said Parish of about £140 per annum & is a Papist but he lives in Southampton Street London". (Essex Recusant II 26) Estcourt and Payne (page 59) say that he registered the Manor of Cann Hall, in Wanstead etc, worth £168 per annum. His will, executed 9 Aug 1712 and granted probate 21 Oct 1721, (Payne, 'Records of English Catholics', page 14) says he is of the parish of St. Giles in the Fields, Middlesex, and names his

sons Henry and William and three daughters.

The same Christian name continued in use for Canon Whitfield's 'Beginnings of the Stratford Mission' says, "The Manor of Cann Hall .. came into the possession of William Colegrave of St. Giles in the Fields, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the manor being then valued at about £65 per annum and the farm at £105. On his death, 27 April, 1793, the property came to his son also named William, but the widow continued to reside there until her death at the age of 82, Feb 4, 1810. The estate subsequently passed to John Manby Esq."

But to return to 14 Aug. 1767, the rector, Richard Goodere, reported, "In consequence of your Lordships commands I have made enquiry after all Papists or reputed Papists, that might be in my Parish of Wanstead in the County of Essex. None of the real inhabitants of this Parish are in the least suspected, but we and all the parishes round us are very sadly plagued, during Potatoe Time with an infinite number of Irish, all or most of which are supposed to be Papists. If any thing in future sho'd tend to settle these people, who at present are mere Itinerants, you may depend on being informed of it." (A. 3, Fulham Palace Papers, Millbank).

WOODFORD: can boast of a nil return in 1706 and no others.

Further information about Catholics in the Becontree Hundred in the eighteenth century would be welcomed by the writer and by the Essex Recusant Society. Readers in the hundred might like to try the Anglican parish registers and the rate books.

EDW. S. WORRALL.

EMMISON, F.G. - "TUDOR SECRETARY -
Sir William Petre at Court and Home." (Longman's 50/-)

For the purpose of this brief note on Mr. Emmison's book, I have read it as a contribution to the history of the Catholic Church in Essex at the time of the dissolution. There could be no more typical figure than Sir William Petre. He was a Devonshire man who came up to London to make his way. He

lived in one of the many properties belonging to the Abbey of Barking. He took possession of it by purchase after he had suppressed the Abbey. He served Henry, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth; all the four monarchs of the Reformation. "A time server," a modern historian has described him, because his beliefs and principles never kept him away from Court. He kept his head on his shoulders. He was never in trouble or disgrace, and by the end of his life he had enlarged his estates enormously and founded a County family which lives to this day in the house which he built.

Sir William was typical of the new men made by the Reformation, yet he founded a family that suffered much for their faith in succeeding generations and made Ingatestone Hall a centre of Catholic life throughout all the years of recusancy. The book conveys a bright clear cut picture of Essex in the second half of the sixteenth century. Its description of Sir William's life at home and at Court are of very deep interest, and founded mainly on his personal papers now in the Essex Record Office.

The writer is particularly sensitive to travel and means of transport; the endless boat journeys on the Thames and the long horse rides for the suppression of monastic institutions which are succeeded by the appearance of the first "coche" to convey Sir William to Ingatestone. The study of the references (which are mainly manuscript) confirm what some modern authorities have asserted, that the local record office can make a contribution to history almost as great as the national collections. A study of the manuscript sources would repay any student of recusancy, and the bibliography will enlarge anybody's knowledge of printed Tudor history. The County Archivist has provided the literature of Essex, and of Tudor times, with an outstanding contribution.

The book is moderately expensive, although not excessively so. Demand it at once from your nearest library.

J. G. O'LEARY

Some time ago, when the idea of gathering material towards the history of post-Reformation Catholicism in Essex was first conceived, it was realised that it would be necessary for a library of books, both of Catholic and County History, to be formed. We are now able to report that no less than some 350 books have been acquired by the Essex Recusant Society.

Recently the Society came into possession of a large number of books which the late Canon Whittfield (the originator of these studies) had collected. A number of small accessions also have come to us lately from various sources.

Though many of the books which we will need are still lacking, nevertheless a considerable library has been formed. Members of the Society are at present working on these books, searching for references to recusancy. One is tackling, for instance, the series of Essex Reviews, of which the Society possesses now a complete file. Another has started the series of Transactions of the Essex Antiquarian Society, others are at work on the Catholic Record Society series, and so on.

Readers of the Essex Recusant and any who are interested in the work of the Society are invited to donate, or to lend for a period, to the Society any books especially upon Essex which they may possess. Such books would be most useful to those who are engaged upon the task of collating the evidence that is being uncovered of our Catholic past. An Essex Recusant Society Bookplate is being specially designed by our Secretary so that all books may be easily identified. It is hoped that this library will not be allowed to be broken up even when the work of the Society shall have been finished. For the books will then, it is intended, become the property of the Brentwood Diocese, to be kept together for use for historical and other purposes. Anyone, therefore, who makes gifts of books to the library will have the satisfaction of knowing that he is doing something that will be of lasting value. A duplicated list of books belonging to the library will be available at the end of August.

The office of Librarian to the Essex Recusant Society has been created in order to facilitate arrangements, and enquiries should be addressed to the Librarian, The Essex Recusant Society, The Presbytery, Tracyes Road, Harlow.

O B I T U A R Y

Very Rev. Canon Joseph Whitfield, D.S.O., M.A.

On March 8th, 1961, there died at Frinton, Canon Joseph Whitfield. It is only fitting that his death should be noted in the Essex Recusant. He was our most ardent supporter and our most stern critic and, as has been stated elsewhere, his fine library of Catholic and Essex books has come to the Society. He was the first to undertake the study of our Catholic past in Essex and his knowledge and encouragement have been of the utmost service to us all.

Canon Whitfield for fifty years had studied Elizabethan Catholic history; some of us would say that we believe him to have been the greatest expert in that field that we knew. And yet apart from a few small publications, pamphlets on the Martyrs, articles in the old Brentwood Magazine and in the Catholic Encyclopedia, in the Edmundian and elsewhere, his great erudition did not attain fulfilment. This was due to two factors: the fact that he always was so pre-occupied with diocesan work and to a certain diffidence which increased as he came to realise that a new dimension - that of county records - had come into the field of Catholic historical studies. He had been for many years acting as Chancellor. He was also defensor vinculi, editor of the diocesan Ordo, and caught up in other important work. For many years he had acted as custodian of the valuable collection of Old Brotherhood MSS some of which he kept at Frinton. No one knew as he did that period of peculiar difficulty from 1590 to 1630, when so many troubles arose for the Church in England - difficulties that were exacerbated by the disputes as to jurisdiction between世俗s and Jesuits and between the latter and the other religious orders who had subjects on the English Mission. Some of us would go down at times to Frinton to hear him speak of all these matters; it was sad that he was not able to write down his knowledge then when for the first time he had the leisure to do so. But his sight had failed. His conversation, though so slow and laboured at the end, remained a constant delight. He had that trick of an older generation of clergy of illustrating his words with little latin phrases. "Moderata durant", he would say; or it might be some little thing from canon law, "qui facit per alium facit per se", or if you told him you were going on pilgrimage he would say,

"Qui multum peregrinantur raro sanctificantur."

Members of the Essex Recusant Society especially will always remember his help to them; they will miss his wise comment and above all perhaps the encouragement that he gave to us. "This work must go on", he would say, "until it is finished."

Requiescat in pace cuius memoria in benedictione est!
